/28 cont./

§54 affection are not so apparent, and the child develops into a small adult, obeying family authority in his activities and conduct. Now start his training in work, punishments, and learning to put his physical strength to practical use in family life, as he is given responsibilities and duties in the home.

We have already seen how the mother carries her child in her arms while he is not yet sitting up or crawling. It is at this period that she shows him her affection. If he cries or is fretful, she places him upright on her shoulder and gently pats his arms to quieten him and get him to sleep; she lays him horizontally on her lap to put him to sleep, or puts him in his hammock and rocks and lulls him to sleep. While she is working and the child is comfort, she lays him on rags or matting near to her work, chats to him in baby language and loving pet names. If the child becomes fretful, she lifts him up, offers him the breast, or holds him in her lap while trying to carry on with her work.

To satisfy the child's need to move and to develop his muscles, she seats him on her legs when he is quite small and later helps him to stand up and take steps, stimulating his endeavors with words and cries or laughing at his attempts or tumbles. Lullabies §55 are very common, and there are typical ones with conventional words and music, or extemporaneous ones, which are in the nature of the description of some action, fable, or story that is hit upon, or simply one that tells the child that she is busy and he should be good and go to sleep. The tune may be one of those generally used for such lullabies or that of any favorite Guajiro song.

When the child wakes the mother picks him up from his hammock, speaks to him in baby language, pets him, and calls him endearing names /31/ This is the time to feed him, and while she does this she calls him some pet name and pats his shoulders rhythmically. Sometimes she will tickle him, she will teasingly take away her nipple to replace it playfully at once, thus stopping his protests. She lets him play with her hair and even allows him to try to grip her face. The other relatives,

/196 cont./

a peculiar characteristic of the Guajiro Indian. They steal from the time they are children, since the scarcity of food in La Guajira makes the child steal food from his younger brother, from his relatives, and from outsiders; and he eats it immediately or takes it away and hides it in the woods to use when it is possible and convenient to his need.

This means that they are punished when they steal food from their own homes and praised when they steal it from outsiders. Even men frequently steal from the sown fields at night, and there is hardly a stock breeder who does not have to exercise scrupulous vigilance over his livestock day and night to avoid being the victim of thieves. At night the livestock must be shut up in well-fenced corrals, annexed to the houses, but even so they are frequently stolen. During the day the flocks are never allowed to pasture without someone looking after them. The Guajiro knows and can distinguish from others the tracks of his animals, which permits him to track them over long distances, helped by the sandy soil, until he finds where they are. The tracker follows the thief until he finds him, and if he discovers him with the stolen animal it is not unusual for him to kill him. If he knows who the thief is, he goes at once to this man's closest relatives, demanding indemnity, which they will certainly pay, because if they do not, the wronged man will take advantage of any opportunity to recuperate his loss and damages by his own hand.

When they wish to know who the rustler is, they frequently have recourse to the diviner, who takes a cigarette, a wand, or a firebrand, according to his speciality, and lights it. In the wisps of smoke and in the way the flame consumes the burning article, he believes that he can find, after long observation, the thief and the place where the stolen thing can be found. /197/

When they recover an important object, the family that had lost it give a small feast in which an animal is slaughtered to divide among attending friends; chicha and rum are drunk, and a drum is beaten with the monotonous, prolonged rhythm to which they dance the chicha maya for several nights.

[20 cont.]

755 wanurú spirits of the dead, who have arrows similar to those used
[753] by the Indians for hunting, which are shot at individuals to cause them sickness and pain.) The chant of the shaman is suspended only while he is sucking the affected parts of the sick person's body; then he immediately continues it again and returns to the spitting, the rubbing, and the sucking of the painful areas. The
755 sick person should be confined to his home, and furthermore his
758 bed should be enclosed by curtains in the manner of a second room within the main one. None may enter this place without the express consent of the shaman. However, the witch sometimes permits the presence of a relative of the sick person, generally the sister or the wife, who can act as nurse, especially during the moments when the shaman is resting. When he renews his curative acts, they must withdraw again.

755 The songs which the shaman intones tell how his spirit is
753 searching for the soul of the sick man which the spirit of sick-
[533] ness and death has carried away to unknown regions which are known only to it and to the spirit of the shaman. Often the sick person's spirit does not let itself be caught by the shaman, or it can happen that his soul is imprisoned, held by act and wish of the wanurú, which can cause the shaman a great deal of work. When through the intervention of his protector spirit he succeeds in recovering the spirit of the patient, he must pay the
755 wanurú that held it prisoner a ransom for its liberation. This
782 spirit will then ask through the mouth of the shaman for whatever gifts it may fancy. The shaman on his part transmits the oppressing spirit's demands to the sick man's relatives. These demands take the form of requests for animals — cattle, goats, sheep, etc., — of a certain color and special markings; ornaments of certain sizes and shapes; cloth, food and, at times, things very difficult to find. The sick man's relatives hurry to look everywhere for the requested items, and once found they present them to the shaman and place them, if they are animals, near him where he is "shamanizing." Other objects, such as necklaces, cloth, etc., are placed in his hands. If the orders
*756 are not immediately complied with and in accordance with the
755 slightest detail, the shaman suffers very severe fits and attacks and has to withdraw from assisting the patient. This is because,

[121 cont.]

differentiation between magic and religion, and between play as such and drama. But these four things are so interlaced that it is not possible to take each one of these aspects separately for analysis or even for presentation. If the whole appears clear we shall be satisfied. Our intention in this study has been to present facts in the most objective manner possible without neglecting, obviously, to interpret at times when it has seemed necessary or when we have felt capable of doing so.

As we have said, whether what is presented in the Dance of the Kid is magic or religion, it is a matter that might lend itself to Byzantine discussions by which nothing of the subject would be cleared up. On the contrary, they would further confuse it and take away opportunities to make known one of the most interesting aspects of the spiritual life of the Guajiro, in which are broken many of their social traditions, or rather their everyday cultural patterns, and in which they have an opportunity to show their dexterity more than their capacity as actors, since it must not be thought that what we have described as theater is such in the true sense of the word but rather corresponds to the beginnings of that art, the beginning of representations, without finality in themselves but as propitiation of rain and good harvests, as integral parts of a complete ritual which includes dances, songs, and representations of natural scenes or incidents taken from mythology.

What has given us occasion to call this theater or, if one prefers, drama is the concurrence in the representation of scenes of a small number of the participants at the Fiesta, or Dance, of the Kid and the presence of a great number of the other participants who fill the role of spectators. [122]

It also frequently occurs that each group that takes part in the play is headed by a minstrel, or singer, who narrates each event as it occurs; the language he employs is dramatic, and he uses the most attractive turns of speech. The verbal music is added to the drama though not in the form of massed choirs but is expressed by each of the leaders who guide the actions of the participants in the scene that is being represented. Unfortunately, these songs have not been traditionally preserved but are rather improvised for the occasion. Only the music has endured

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b) Of the songs which are sung in this ceremony of propitiation of rain, there are some of a simple, humorous character making fun of neighboring native groups, pointing out their defects, such as we transcribe below: [124]

I do not love the men of Ríohacha
Because they like to smoke tobacco;
I do not like the men of Nazaret,
Because they have a very sweet tooth.

But there are others of a typical erotic flavor, sung by the men, which are nothing more than an invitation to love, the story of their manliness, of their value as males. We translate literally a fragment which we heard in Uribía:

Come to me, my sister.
Come to me, my woman.
I am a male.

Do not look at him
—At that youngster —
Walk straight and correctly.
Walk straight and correctly.
Walk straight and correctly.

I am here.
I am the male.
I bring with me my rifle
And my revolver.
I am a male.
You were very charming, my love.

Oh, that I may take an Indian girl!
I will pay for her
Because I am rich.

Many songs such as this are sung at the Dance of the Kid, but we were unable to take down the words because, as we have said, songs do not exist as such. They are not stereotyped and established with definite words and unchangeable form but are improvised, making use of every recourse, especially stories of past incidents, to which they adapt a well-known tune.

[137 cont.]

so, always making their peculiar call. In this way they pass over the place where the hammock men are in position; they are arranged two by two in a semicircle, hands held right in left, forming quadrilaterals. The birds reach this point running at the greatest speed possible, when the hammock men stop them by surrounding them to prevent their escape. They struggle, but in the end the semicircle begins to close until it becomes a circle, and the birds are imprisoned inside. An Indian then comes to kill the birds. He does so by taking them one by one by the arm as if this were the wing and by pretending to wring their necks. Once all the birds are taken out from the net the scene ends.

8. Jaguars and dogs. This theatrical game is intended to show the fortitude and courage of the jaguar and its superiority over dogs. For this reason it requires much care in the selection of the Indians who will take part in it because they must struggle fiercely with each other, and it is essential that the team that plays the part of jaguars be the conquerors. This has caused us to believe in the mythical value of the jaguar, which actually appears in their legends related to Mareiwa as well as in clan nomenclature. The game consists in engaging in a severe struggle in which the jaguar always manages to overcome the dogs and dominate them through being stronger. The complete description can be summed up thus: The group of jaguars pretends to be settled in a tree; sometimes they actually are. The group representing the dogs arrives, following the scent and the trail until they come to the foot of the tree [138] in which the jaguars are all lurking. On finding them, the dogs bark furiously beneath the tree and provoke the jaguars until they jump down, and it is then that the terrible struggle takes place. When in the end a dog falls to the ground, the jaguar pretends to bite it to pieces, clawing its breast open and attacking its throat, where he starts to devour it. The dog whimpers painfully, goes into convulsions, and stays motionless, as if dead. The jaguar gets up satisfied as he has triumphed, and so ends the play.

9. Dogs and peccaries. Two groups are formed, each one composed of ten men arranged in line and captained, as is customary, by a singer, who is the chief of the group. One group represents the peccaries, the other the dogs which are going to hunt them.

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shows a test of cunning between these two animals. In this tale, the rabbit is the winner.

11. The man and the wild boar. One man takes the part of a wild boar, the other that of the man who stalks it. The hunter follows the boar, which runs swiftly away, dodging the hunter's arrows in its flight. In this trial of dexterity, the hunter will be the winner if in the end he wounds the boar with one of the arrows he shoots; or it will be the boar that triumphs if it is able to tire out its persecutor and dodge all the arrows shot at it.

12. The hunter, the dog, and the rabbit. This play is another trial of dexterity, as the end in view is to try the ability of each actor in the role assigned to him. It represents, in short, a hunting party, in which the man and the dog try to capture and kill the rabbit. The dog tries to catch it and tear it to pieces, while the man follows at a greater distance, throwing stones at it. If he manages to hit it, the rabbit acts as if killed, giving the victory to the huntsman. The result is the same if the dog is successful in catching his prey with his claws, but if the rabbit should evade both of them, showing greater ability and speed than the other two, he becomes the winner of the test.

13. The song of the serpent. We have left this section to terminate our study of the theater in La Guajira because it presents characteristics different from all the other representations which we have described. It does not involve a demonstration of skill or force, nor does it require the intervention of contending groups in any way. In consequence there is no dialogue, but there is a monologue sung by the leader of the group followed by all the actors, in which the deeds of the serpent are recounted.

As a clarifying note we refer our reader to the chapter "Sickness and Medicine," in which this reptile's magic power is clearly evident, especially in relation to pregnant women and all that surrounds them. We also would recall that, as in the case of the jaguar, the serpent [140] figures in the naming of the clans, at times in close association with the jaguar.

The act develops as follows: A line is formed of alternate men and women who take each other's hands. They run with short steps, undulating to copy the motion of a serpent when

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SC13 Guajiro SC13

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ceived. They brought out stools carved with animals' heads and tails for us to sit on, and then four young men hastened to entertain us with music. I had happened to ask about musical instruments and it appeared that we had come to a musical family. They all played the flute, which there was usually small, of reed or wood, and ornamented with carved figures. There was also a larger flute which had a mouthpiece and reed, like a child's trumpet, and a calabash at the other end. This instrument buzzed and droned like a bumble-bee. It was extraordinary. It did not seem a South American instrument at all. In fact, it was quite simply an offshoot of the ancient snake-charmer's flute, which I had seen in Morocco. How had it got to America? Perhaps through the Moors. The early Spanish discoverers had Moorish slaves and servants with them, and, as we shall see, this flute was not the only indication of Moorish influence.

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Guajira is often called the Arabia of South America, neo
because it too is an arid peninsula with a population largely consisting of nomad herdsmen. In the distance a Guajiro caravan looks thoroughly eastern, and who knows from whom the Guajiros' forebears acquired their knowledge of how to ride and to wear cattle?

Not wishing to spoil the concert, I said nothing of all this. 123
I myself am quite unmusical, but my wife gave the per- 533
formers full marks. The pieces had names that suited the setting: 'The Little Goat seeks its Mother', 'The Horses are driven Home', 'By the rippling Water'. The four also sang. To European ears their singing was considerably less attractive than the music, but the words were often poetical and lovely. 'The little goat laments and says: the water that I drink is salt and salt are the plants I have to eat. And just as it begins to drink, the little goat's salt tears fall along with the other drops upon the salt ground.' In that perhaps was a little too much salt, but it was typically Guajiran. Even a goat can get too much of what others seek so avidly elsewhere.

They showed us other musical instruments: a drum that 123
was played for dancing and a whistle made of calabash, in- 534
tended for signalling. One of the four also produced a

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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bride-price. (A refusal by the girl's family to accept the offerings can lead to a serious conflict between the two families.) The deputation then returns home and informs the suitor. He does not try to haggle. That is not done. Also he has a fairly good idea beforehand what he will be asked to pay. If his relatives can afford it, the price is paid in a lump sum in cows, which is the grandest method of payment. The cows are driven to the bride's house by slaves and followed by the bridegroom's maternal uncles, who are responsible for making settlement. They are given a festive reception and return with gifts of meat from a freshly slaughtered animal. The bridegroom does not go on this occasion either. He arrives later with some cows for his mother-in-law, which constitute a reward for the bridal bed, a beautiful hammock she has woven. This symbolizes his right of possession of the girl. 584

In the old days it was considered that a bride ought to be virgin, although now that manners are not so strict, this is not so strictly insisted upon. The white man usually explains the girl's period of confinement as being intended to protect her innocence; yet she would surely have more opportunity to kick over the traces when living by herself in a little hut, than if she were with her family and always under their eye. Among the better families at least, a husband can demand return of part of the bride-price if he discovers that he is not the first to enjoy the girl's favours. A bride who is not a virgin should thus command a lower price than a virgin. A girl with a child, or a wife another man has returned, commands even less, just as with the Moors, though that is not to say that the custom came from them. 585 836

Nowadays a sensible girl tells her intended husband if she has had an affaire, before the bride-price is settled, and thereby complications are avoided. A young man will seldom hesitate to marry a girl making such a confession.

A man's inmost thoughts often emerge under the influence of intoxication, when he sits in his hammock improvising a song, as the Indians do. Scornfully he may chant: 'Ah, ah, ah, ah, when I married my wife was not a maid.' If she was, he will sing: 'Ah, ah, ah, my bride was innocent.' [533]